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THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY:

A CASE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE

by

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Preface

This research project is a result of my concern for the advancement of human rights, individual prosperity, and the need to better manage intra-state conflict. Industrialized nations continue to make advancements in quality of life while the Third World Nations lack the infrastructure to make the necessary gains themselves. Lack of resources and the enforcement of law are key factors in today's environment that prohibit less developed regions from advancing. My premise for future opportunities is based on the use of globalization to allow nations to promote their citizens while still maintaining a cultural identity.

A common rule of law already exists through the United Nations and a variety of trade agreements, but there must be an enforcement mechanism. While I do not consider myself a utopian idealist, some mechanism to enhance the rule of law must be improved in the current world situation. Record American budget surpluses and a robust world economy coupled with the opportunity for decreased military spending offer the means to fund new international programs.

I would like to extend a special thanks to Lieutenant Colonel Phil Chansler who acted as my faculty research advisor for this project. He provided continuous support and editing of numerous drafts that have captured my thoughts and efforts.

Abstract

As the United Nations (UN) enters the 21st Century, it is faced with security challenges that were not seen by its creators. The end of the Cold War, globalization, intra-state conflict, and a desire to achieve universal human rights continues to separate the world. In order for the UN and developed nations to obtain any semblance of global governance to meet these new challenges, it will have to move beyond its traditional logic and employment of military forces for international peacekeeping operations. The benefits of global economic investment and individual liberties should be apparent to all as a positive outcome for the establishment and maintenance of the rule of law. This research effort focuses on the need for a United Nations Police Force. The objective of this work is to lay the political, philosophical, and economic framework for the majority consensus for such an idea. Therefore, the depth required for the mechanics of such an institution such as financing, training, organizational structure, appropriate force size, and demographics will need to be addressed in separate research efforts.

Chapter 1

Introduction

...we must seek, above all, a world of peace; a world in which peoples dwell together in mutual respect and work together in mutual regard; a world where peace is not a mere interlude between wars, but an incentive to the creative energies of humanity. We will not find such a peace today, or even tomorrow. The obstacles to hope are large and menacing. Yet the goal of a peaceful world must, today and tomorrow, shape our decisions and inspire our purposes.

—John F. Kennedy

As the United Nations (UN) enters the 21st Century, it is faced with challenges that were not seen by its creators. The end of the Cold War, globalization, intra-state conflict, and a desire to achieve universal human rights continues to separate the world between those who have and those who need assistance. In order for the UN to obtain any semblance of global governance to meet these new challenges, it will have to move beyond its traditional logic and employment of international peacekeeping forces. Sending a sovereign nation's uniformed military to keep fighting parties separated will not promote long term peace, economic development, nor aid the cause of individual liberty. While there has been much success gained through the medical, educational, and financial institutions under the UN umbrella, it has not developed the means to protect those investments. The focus of this research effort is to move away from conventional use of military personnel in UN peacekeeping operations and analyze the need for their replacement and enhancement with a permanent UN Police Force.

There are two broad obstacles concerning the implementation of a UN Police Force. The first is nothing short of the nature of politics itself. Secondly, and many may consider a product of the former, is the means by which to gain the resources required to field a force capable of meeting the world's needs. In both areas, the UN will have to present a case that will be supported by the people and government of its member nations. Before we can lay the infrastructure on a model UN Police Force, we must first discuss why its existence is more beneficial than the current process. This paper will review some of the historical attempts at peace operations with military forces in Chapter 2, followed by the need for a global enforcement entity to protect our interests in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will address what will be required of a proposed UN Police Force. And finally, Chapter 5 will address potential obstacles to implementing such a police force in addition to potential areas of related, future research.

Chapter 2

The Beginnings of Collective Security

Do not expect justice where might is right.

—Phaedrus

The United Nations is not the first organization that has attempted to achieve collective or regional security. History is full of alliances that have been set up at many different levels to protect property, sovereignty, and people. Although there are significant examples of such entities throughout history, the scope of this work can only make a brief mention of the League of Nations and some of the instances and background that has led up to our current situation in the UN. Under the UN, pre-/post-Cold War settings and the different forms of peacekeeping will be addressed.

Although there have always been calls for some form of utopian ideal among the fringes of society, the aftermath of World War I allowed for a more open discussion of a better future for the world. The leadership of President Woodrow Wilson helped form the League of Nations following the Treaty of Versailles. This Wilsonian vision of a “supranational organization” failed to gain acceptance in the United States and in its mission.¹ This first attempt at collective security lacked the necessary diplomatic support to secure its objectives and forced nations back to the alliance system in preparation for World War II.

The United Nations Early Years

While the loss of a generation of European men was catastrophic in World War I, the destruction of property was isolated to the war front. The Second World War saw not only the death of soldiers, but also the death of millions of civilians and entire cities destroyed across the world. It comes as no surprise then that there was another outcry for a world body to manage conflict before it spirals out of control. With the close of this second Great War, the birth of the United Nations gained more authority and support than its predecessor. The UN did not immediately find itself at the helm of an efficient collective security system. Instead, it was a pawn in the return to balance of power politics in the bi-polar world between the United States and Soviet Union for the next half century.

The end of World War II saw both the birth of the UN and atomic weapons. Between the spread of communism and the efforts of a containment policy, the East-West struggle left the UN with little role other than a forum for heated debate and inaction from the Security Council. According to the UN, there have been 54 peacekeeping operations from 1948 to October of 2000.² Fifteen of these operations are current, but only 16 were initiated before 1989.³ The fall of the Soviet Union and the removal of a bi-polar system that provided support and control for regional tension left us with what President George Bush referred to as the “new world order”. It didn’t take long for others to coin the phrase “New World disorder”.⁴

There is certainly a clear picture that under a strong East-West alliance system order was maintained between the superpowers and over their respective members. Although inter-state conflict did not die with the Soviet Union, a new brand of intra-state conflict has emerged from the rubble of the Iron Curtain. Intra-state fighting is a result of economics, ethnic tensions, colonial boundaries, and a host of other causes. Regardless of the broad category of intra-state

fighting, this research project contests that it is all derived from man's quest to fulfill his basic right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in the face of political power struggles, weak economies, and the absence of law enforcement. Before we address the fundamental rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN requirement to protect them, there needs to be a discussion of the various types of peacekeeping operations and where there needs to be improvement.

Peacekeeping Types

There are a number of different definitions of peacekeeping. The first is "traditional peacekeeping" that was a product of the Cold War. United Nations missions between 1945 and 1988 were designed to keep direct confrontation limited between the US and Soviets. Traditional peacekeeping puts a military force between former belligerents to monitor a cease-fire while diplomatic negotiations are conducted.⁵ While this type of operation may still be required on occasion between nations, it can be accomplished with a third country military force as needed. Other definitions of the peacekeeping mission since the late 1980s require some refinement due to the nature of the operations. There are three other definitions of "peacekeeping" as they apply to conflicts within a nation or among small, undeveloped countries. These operations are labeled multidimensional peace operations, humanitarian intervention, and peace enforcement.

Multidimensional peace operations are similar to traditional peacekeeping, but have an implementation schedule and timeline.⁶ A multidimensional operation also involves separating the factions and working towards a peace accord that addresses the underlying cause of an internal conflict. Humanitarian intervention sometimes lacks the consent of the warring parties and is frequently thought to violate a nation's sovereignty when there is a desire to maintain an isolationist approach. However, to stop further loss of life or a threat to international peace and

security may require such an intervention.⁷ The last type of operation to be addressed is that of peace enforcement. In this case, coercive force is used by the intervening parties to suppress conflict in a specific area as a result of genocide or lack of governance.⁸

As stated earlier, traditional peacekeeping operations between nation states is not in severe need of change and therefore not the focus of this research effort. It is necessary for the full means available to a modern military to stand between nations on the verge of war. This paper will address the specific requirement of a UN Police Force to conduct the multidimensional peace operations required for the plethora of failed states that have emerged in the post Cold War World. The next chapter will address why the UN should form an international police force and the logic necessary of it's member states to support it.

Notes

¹ Tom Woodhouse, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, New York, St Martins Press, 1998, 17.

² United Nations Homepage, as of October 2000, available at www.un.org.

³ Pamela Reed, *Handbook on United Nations Peace Operations*, Washington, The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1995, A-2.

⁴ Tom Woodhouse, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, New York, St Martins Press, 1998, 76.

⁵ Pamela Reed, *Handbook on United Nations Peace Operations*, Washington, The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1995, 2.

⁶ Ibid, 2.

⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁸ Ibid, 4.

Chapter 3

The Need for Change

We learned that when you use land combat power in the peacekeeping or peace building role, you can't achieve an end state of long-term peace or stability and prosperity in the area. In general, a military element only can bring about an absence of war.

—Major General William L. Nash, USA

The impact of globalization, moving beyond just the idea of universal protection of human rights, and the changing environment of world conflict make the logic of a UN Police Force more relevant now than ever before. The Cold War was an era of strict definitions with regard to international law. In order to protect the East-West alliances, intervention was viewed as illegal and no doubt a threat to the respective power broker.¹ Self-determination, that supported one of the super-powers, and sovereignty of the nation was placed higher on the UN agenda than any abuse of individuals within the state. While it would be easy to say the fall of the Soviet Union has caused this new phenomenon of failed states, there is a deeper cleavage that has been opened up. States fail when they can no longer govern themselves as a result of any number of reasons. Most of the factors that cause a state to fail can be attributed to competition over resources without regard to the rule of law.

Resource competition may be over wealth, education, ethnic community, or simply an opportunity to seek a better life. Throughout history the current trouble spots of the world were held together by colonial rule or under the protection of the East-West regimes. Two other

reasons that can be attributed to the lack of involvement by the UN and industrialized nations prior to 1989 include the level of information getting into and out of less developed countries before the information revolution.

The ability of CNN to flash the first signs of civil disobedience, international crime, and any number of human rights violations to the watching world have forced local, regional, and multilateral agencies to answer to their public. Moreover, the people who once lacked information of the world did not realize just how poor their plight was. The effects of the World Wide Web and globalization have changed forever the way nations and people interact. There is a desire by a vast amount of the world's population to experience the freedoms, economic prosperity, and success they see occurring in developed nations. However, the inability of their own infrastructure or political administration is preventing them from instituting laws and an enforcement agency that could lead to a more productive nation.

Globalization

The spread of technology that has resulted in increased information flow has also fostered the spread of global business. Multi-national corporations are now the rule rather than the exception when it comes to 21st Century business. The reality of a global business community that advances the lives of the population needs the same safe and secure environment to operate that people do. Globalization requires special attention because it is the basis and means for the UN to develop and employ an international police for that protects property rights and individual rights.

There has been much discussion over the last decade concerning how to manage the effects of globalization. The rich wish to maintain and improve their current status while the poor seek to find the means to develop. Political focus has usually been to protect the rich nations through

laws that affect immigration and import/export barriers.² Poor nations are left further behind due to their inability to provide the safe environment and properly suited work force to invite foreign capital as a result of government shortcomings. While many view the spread of industry and markets as a purely business interest, a successful world economy that involves everyone must be supported politically through the establishment of law enforcement. It is the law of the rich nation that prevents market forces from allowing people, prices, and goods to meet their theoretical economic potential.

Not all the people and governments of the world view globalization as a desired objective. The use of technology and business to integrate and expand markets can result in a clash of civilizations through diluted customs, ethnic integration, and labor force migration. Traditional sources of revenue such as agriculture and local industry can be moved resulting in dependence on foreign means. In order to achieve an effective world market, while at the same time promoting literacy and awareness through a global information revolution, there needs to be a sense of fairness and security felt throughout the world. The advancement of some countries cannot be at the expense of the majority without inciting resentment and conflict.

The UN must use globalization to promote protection of business markets while at the same time using that force to provide the means for ensuring people can live safely and seek better lives through increased access to education, religion, liberty, and means of prosperity. Even though democracy has spread since the fall of communism, it has not brought significant advances to less developed nations. Countries that have seen economic prosperity as a result of globalization have confined that success to a special interest group and not the nation's people as a whole. Democracy is not enough to warrant success, "an effective state requires good laws as well as law enforcement that is timely, even-handed, and accessible to the poor."³

American model

While the globalization argument promoted the need of a UN Police Force to provide the law required protecting business property and intellectual rights, there is another reason for an international law agency. Of course, the purpose for a UN Police Force is to promote individual liberties for people to develop local economies that can contribute to international growth and build a foundation for human partnership that lessens the causes for large scale confrontation. The American societal model certainly has flaws, but it is based on solid political philosophy that has proved itself over the course of time to be one that does not seek advancement by the subjugation of others. Throughout American history, there has been a time when the nation has relied on slavery, exercised unfair treatment of its citizens, and went through a brief period of imperialism.

None of these factors have caused the hegemonic advantage America now exercises. There is no need to further discuss the economic impacts of globalization, but the importance placed on individual rights within the United States is worthy of attention and how it should be applied to the rest of the world. The reason that it is so important is the fact the UN Declaration of Human Rights mirrors the personal liberties found in the American Constitution and the National Security Strategy of the United States voices the promotion of democracy and human rights.

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

One of the critical arguments against any type of universal human rights policy and enforcement is that they are the product of the West and cultural exceptionalists choose not to abide by international norms when it is not in accordance with their political agenda. However, as a byproduct of globalization, the world has become a smaller place and nations should no longer be able to hide behind the veil of sovereignty when breaking international laws. “The

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the several ensuing legal treaties setting out civil, political, cultural, and economic rights as well as the rights of children, women, ethnic groups, and religions, were meant to create a global safety net of rights applicable to all persons, everywhere...they brook no cultural exceptionalism.”⁴ The UN now has the obligation to find a means to enforce and promote these rules until they have become commonly accepted by all citizens. Leaving member nations, specifically those on the UN Security Council, to decide when, where, and how human rights and globalization laws are to be enforced will only further delay the advancement of Third World Nations and promote continued armed conflict.

The people of the world deserve the opportunity to work towards their own prosperity. It is incumbent upon governments to ensure an environment free to exercise individual rights and provide a certain degree of protection in life and property. Although there are occasions when direct welfare is required, the issue of direct compensation is a complex one and not in the scope of this research project. Seeking the advancement of a better alternative to the traditional use of national military forces is however.

The UN must use the cornerstone of economic advancement to also promote the ideals of individual benefit. An achievable goal is the reduction of armed conflict when nations and their population feel they are reaping the benefits of their labor and exercising individual freedoms. However, the world is controlled by the wealthy nations and the reality is they must be convinced a change to the status quo is required. The Catch-22 the UN faces is finding the trained personnel, finances, and time investment to help developing nations succeed while not promoting themselves as the world protector of global governance. A new UN Police Force is the means by which the developed countries of the world can provide the framework for Third World independence without collective, regional, or unilateral involvement of military forces.

Notes

- ¹ Tom Woodhouse, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, New York, St Martins Press, 1998, 51.
- ² Scott, Bruce R., *The Great Divide in the Global Village*, Foreign Affairs v 80 n 1, 160.
- ³ Ibid, 169.
- ⁴ Franck, Thomas, *Are Human Rights Universal?*, Foreign Affairs, v 80 n 1, 193.

Chapter 4

An International Police Force

“war...may well be ceasing to commend itself to human beings as a desirable or productive, let alone rational means of reconciling their discontents”

—John Keegan

The preceding discussion provided the logic behind why an ever-present force is required to maintain stability in the world. The present chapter concerns itself with a more in-depth view on how this force would be established and the role it would play. The need for a UN Police Force is driven by the promotion of globalization and the necessity of ensuring human rights for the world's population. These two issues provide a basis for the formation of common values among diverse peoples. While there is currently much concern about the adoption of universal values in the more remote parts of the world, the benefit to business and the individual is too great to not promote the possibility of an international body that enforces the rule of law. The existing practice of the UN allows for the Security Council to make the need for involvement in political matters that cannot be properly addressed by military force.

Benefits of police

In order for the UN to evolve into a world body that is responsive to poverty, human rights issues, and the advancement of peace, it will need to stop using military forces from member nations and develop a police force system that can enforce the rule of law. This police force

should be lightly armed and use contact skills with the community to fight drugs, property crimes, and human rights abuses while at the same time assisting in building ties with the local population to overcome ethnic partitions. Military forces that are brought in to perform either peace enforcement or peacekeeping duties are not attuned to the local situation and serve to divide the situation by keeping parties separated. This separation does not promote business, human rights, or justice. The uniformed soldier is neither trained nor prepared for the personal contact with the population that a law enforcement officer performs everyday. However, there is still more support for the UN to have its own military force than pursue a police force.

Currently, the UN and its member nations do not practice preventative enforcement or an active engagement in areas where even the slightest involvement could overcome an atrocity on the scale of genocide, let alone the advancement of individual liberties. “Most state-based conflict management which includes peacekeeping only becomes seriously involved conflict once they reached an overtly violent stage, and often only after they have become protracted.”¹ The process by which the UN must request forces and money for the conduct of peacekeeping operations makes it very unresponsive for such tragedies as seen in Rwanda. By the time the UN has Security Council approval to send in a force, found nations willing to use their military personnel, and secured funding, the opportunity for success has passed. In order to overcome this situation, the idea of a standing UN *military force* has been proposed.

Military models

Examination of a sample of the proposed UN standing armies makes it clear why the idea of a police force makes more sense. The idea of a UN military force goes back to the 1950s.² Sir Brian Urquhart was a former UN Under-Secretary General who advocated a force of about 5,000 personnel that would serve as a standing force as a means of solving the commitment problem of

member nations. This would be a rapid reaction force capable of immediate response to a troubled area to diffuse a conflict in its earliest stage well before the traditional means of force construction was even underway. While this idea has been opposed by many, there is a resurgence to this concept in the face of genocide in Rwanda and atrocities in Sierra Leone.

There are several proposals now being reviewed that place the emphasis on military forces over police. However, when a third-party force is either invited or enters forcibly they find themselves in civilian centers where it is difficult to determine who is friend and foe.³ One of the most recent military force proposals places regional security under the auspices of a local power. In an effort to promote regional cops, an argument has been made that the inability of the UN to gain American support limits an international option and the United States lacks the will to do it alone.⁴ Countries such as Canada, India, and Australia that have limited worldwide military presence have modified their defense forces to meet the requirements of UN service. The European Union has even realized the opportunity to build a force of about 60,000 to conduct operations outside their borders to shape the international environment. All these plans present major obstacles that must be overcome to receive support from the major UN contributors.⁵

Financing

Proposals by many countries still do not place a military force under the direct control of the UN and therefore contributing nations can pull the personnel or fiscal support for operations not supported. Drawbacks to a standing UN army “include political objections, questions of practicability and effectiveness, and fears about costs,”⁶ not to mention the public concern of the UN wielding power with a standing army. While the proposals presented above do not advance the idea of globalization and individual liberties, they do present some sound ideas on financing a fielded force.

The current estimate for conducting peacekeeping operations sits at around \$3.0 billion annually. This is a very small figure compared to the overall defense budgets of the world. Put in to perspective, “if the member states contributed just 5 percent of their current defense spending to the UN, this would provide the world body with a security budget of some \$40 billion a year.”⁷ It is incumbent upon the UN to devise a force that meets the security and humanitarian principles they advocate for the world and convince their member states to support it. They must demonstrate a UN Police Force presence is more suited to most peacekeeping operations and this lightly armed force is more cost effective than having member nations deploy their expensive and heavily equipped armies to trouble spots.

Police Force Vision

In addition to those noted in previous chapters, there are other drawbacks to a standing UN military force that could be overcome by the development of an international police force. First there must be a review of what has become the common practice for a UN peacekeeping mission. “As the United Nations practice has evolved over the years, a peacekeeping operation has come to be defined as an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict.”⁸ What has developed after 50 years of such operations has not resulted in a codification of law, but some basic characteristics for involvement that include consent, impartiality, non-use of force, mandate, UN multinational deployment, willingness of the member states and the non-interference in the sovereignty of states.⁹ While a military force can certainly separate fighting parties when enough personnel and force are provided within the framework of this context, the idea of a standing UN Police Force would already have personnel present in a given region that can diffuse a situation before it reaches to the point of an

international response. A police capability can also be more effective at promoting human rights and economic advancement while at the same time being more cost effective than a military force that is reserved for its intended purpose of deterrence and war.

There is no way to establish a template for the most efficient police force structure that can be used throughout the world. Each geographic and demographic area will have to be examined for what indigenous capability is available for use. Over time, the level of security and rate of crime will have to be assessed and force enhancements and reductions made based on local and regional needs. The rule of law throughout the world will have to be enforced with a majority of the police force being locally trained and supplied. Due to the lack of adequate numbers, training, corruption, and paramilitary forces used in many regions of the world, the international community must supplement wages for local forces and provide initial training and oversight. Once law enforcement experts have identified the appropriate officer to population ratios, it is incumbent upon the developed nations to support the local effort with a proportional mix of experienced regional, and to lesser extent international police personnel. This cadre of foreign police will be responsible for the training and oversight in addition to cultural diversity and necessary augmentation.

Training

The primary functions of personnel involved with peacekeeping operations are internal cease-fire management, maintaining a buffer force, border patrol, and observation.¹⁰ Techniques and skills required to perform these duties include observation, surveillance, supervision, interposition, patrolling, reporting, investigation of complaints, negotiation, mediation, and information gathering.¹¹ These tasks fall into the daily training and performance requirements of most of the world's police forces. Military forces can be trained in these types of duties, but

these are not representative of their primary mission. The armies of the world are formed, trained, and equipped to protect their nation through the use of combat engagement with other fielded forces.

In order for a police force to operate with the freedom required to be effective, it is imperative that they have host nation support. The main difference between peacekeeping and peace enforcement is not the level of conflict or violence, but whether there is an invitation by the government of the country in crisis.¹² The maintenance of such consent can be achieved with some success by international agreement, but “techniques of minimum force, impartiality, transparency, legitimacy, and mutual respect”¹³ are attributes associated with a police force in maintaining civil law.

While the wages of western society to solely perform such missions would be cost prohibitive; half of the world’s population lives on less than \$2 a day.¹⁴ Personnel that fill the ranks of such an international force would require common training and language skills. However, this does not mean all personnel would immediately require universal training or only one language. The necessity would be for regional cops with a local language and situation perspective. A tiered approach to training would have a small number of personnel receiving training in a standard language at the international level that would then have oversight of regional activities. Regional training activities would be conducted on a larger scale with a more narrow focus for the particular concerns in the area using a predominate language. Finally there would be the training of local law enforcement in the target area with augmentation from foreign police forces.

UN member-nation support

It is of the utmost importance that US support be found to provide resources and political backing. The world at large is generally receptive to American guidance, but not at the expense of their own reputation and sovereignty. Americans and their style of impatient politics must be overcome to support the need for an international police entity that will take years to field and decades to show advancement.

The development and employment of a UN Police Force does not need to be viewed as an infringement on the sovereignty of a nation. Regardless of the cohesion brought about by globalization, the need for the administrative duties of the nation-state will be required for the foreseeable future if nothing more than to secure the ideals held by the politicians of the world. When a nation is willing to take medical aid, financial incentives, and educational opportunities from the United Nations, there should also be a requirement imposed that helps develop that country's ability to secure law and order. Democracy, debt relief, and agricultural aid alone are not enough to ensure there will be a return on the investment of the international community. "An effective state requires good laws as well as law enforcement that is timely, even-handed, and accessible to the poor."¹⁵

The United Nations must focus its efforts where there exists a chance for a productive advancement of society and promotion of individual liberties. There will have to be a significant investment of time and resources devoted to this cause, but it will be less than the continued use of military forces in limited areas that primarily serve to keep people apart. In some instances, military force will be required to settle disputes as pointed out by Edward Luttwak.¹⁶ The UN will have to let some nations pursue a course of self-determination and if necessary, allow a nation to intervene like Australia did in East Timor or an alliance such as NATO during Kosovo.

These types of military operations gain credibility under the auspices of UN approval, but after armed engagement soldiers must be replaced by a police force to begin the rebuilding.

The UN must demonstrate to the contributing nations that the current practice of using military forces to conduct peacekeeping operations does not benefit the member nations nor the long term forecast for the occupied country. The critical link that the UN must use to gain American involvement is tying a universal police force to their national interests. The National Security Strategy of the United States calls for enhancing America's security, bolstering their economic prosperity and promoting democracy and human rights abroad. These national objectives can be turned into reality through the US support of a UN Police Force.

In addition to meeting their stated goals there could be a cost benefit realized by the US and enhanced world prestige. The current, long-term presence required for US forces to monitor sanctioned peacekeeping operations prohibits their military from training for national defense. Frequent deployments coupled with new missions based on emerging asymmetrical threats such as terrorism, information operations and spreading of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons has placed a strain on the services. International peacekeeping does not hone the skills of warriors, but increases their roles and reduces time and resources spent on combat training. This paper, other authors, and military experts also challenge that a military force is not the most efficient means of peacekeeping and may have a negative impact. That negative impact can be felt both in the zone of peacekeeping operations and military readiness.

Notes

¹ Edward Moxon-Browne, *A Future for Peacekeeping*, New York, St Martin's Press, 1998, 160.

² Tom Woodhouse, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, New York, St Martins Press, 1998, 281.

³ Edward Moxon-Browne, *A Future for Peacekeeping*, New York, St Martin's Press, 1998, 163.

Notes

- ⁴ Michael Hirsch, Calling All Regio-Cops, *Foreign Affairs* v 79 n 6, 2.
- ⁵ Tom Woodhouse, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, New York, St Martins Press, 1998, 282.
- ⁶ Ibid, 282.
- ⁷ Ibid, 282.
- ⁸ Edward Moxon-Browne, *A Future for Peacekeeping*, New York, St Martin's Press, 1998, 2.
- ⁹ Ibid, 3.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, 11.
- ¹¹ Ibid, 11.
- ¹² Ibid, 193.
- ¹³ Ibid, 193.
- ¹⁴ Richard Falk & Andrew Strauss, *Toward Global Parliament*, *Foreign Affairs* v 80 n 1, 213.
- ¹⁵ Bruce Scott, *The Great Divide in the Global Village*, *Foreign Affairs* v 80 n 1, 168.
- ¹⁶ Edward Luttwak, *Give War a Chance*, *Foreign Affairs* v 78 n 4, 36

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Over time, the rich countries will be forced to pay more attention to the fortunes of the poor – if only to enjoy their own prosperity and safety.

—Bruce Scott

The world no longer lacks the economic and technological means to do more than pay ideological lip service to advancing the individual rights and pursuit of prosperity to the global population. The UN must convince the wielders of hegemonic power that they may face the same problems encountered by the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires if they do not seek alternative solutions to managing world crises.¹ Past and present attempts to quell conflict between less developed nations or manage the consequences of a failed state have not had much success. Results are the continued deployment of combat forces between belligerents in foreign lands.

The biggest concern for a UN military force is still one of intervention in a crisis instead of the daily presence required to enforce the law and defuse potential hot spots before they occur. The UN's member states are also reluctant to use military forces because there is little support for forcible entry.² By having a UN monitored Police Force already present, this obstacle would be eliminated. While the use of deadly force is taught to police forces, it is engrained in the minds of the soldier. The likelihood of excess force and inability to interact with the target population are significant drawbacks to the use of a military force to conduct peacekeeping

operations. Other obstacles for a military include lack of continuous presence and the need to return home for national emergencies. Even if there is a long-term military presence, the soldiers are on a rotation schedule that inhibits the contact required to promote trust. A properly trained UN Police Force could mitigate many of these problems.

A UN Police Force could be set up with representatives in all the major cities of the world with particular attention and mass in the trouble spots. While employed in developed cities, new recruits and old alike could receive valuable training and familiarization, and serve as a cross culture development opportunity. Facilities, training, recruitment, and enforcement activities could be financed through the decreased requirement for military involvement and enhanced UN contributions. The daily expense of a small, international nucleus of lightly armed police to oversee law and order pales in comparison to the deployment and rotation of heavy brigades or the moral consequence of doing nothing.

Although this may appear at first glance to be a call to put all local police establishments under the direct control of the UN, it certainly would not stand the vote of the developed nations. What this idea does promote is giving nations that lack the infrastructure and finances necessary for a means to enhance their own development a chance to improve their situation. “The ability of a society to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the international economic integration depends on the quality of public goods, such as property rights, an honest civil service, personal security, and basic education. Without an appropriate legal framework, in particular, the web of potentially rewarding contracts is vastly reduced.”³ The lack of such a means to promote and protect growth has had a severe impact on the development of the former Soviet Union republics, communities in the Balkans, most of the continent of Africa as well as several nations in Central and South America.

There is a need for the soldier in peacekeeping operations. When the situation is between armed nations and a traditional peacekeeping is required, if a forced entry in the region is necessary, or there are heavily armed parties that must be neutralized before the daily operations of a police force can be appreciated. The world today is filled with opportunities for the successful accomplishment of the “law and order” capability of a police force where there is currently no presence. The UN must promote and gain the support of its member nations to train and deploy such a force to promote peace in troubled regions that can influence civil society resulting in economic growth and quell the conflict.

This research effort has largely focused on the need for a United Nations Police Force. The intent was to lay the political, philosophical, and economic framework for the majority consensus for such an idea. Universal acceptance or adherence to individual liberties and economic opportunities will most likely never occur, but that is part of the need for their enforcement and protection. The world has become a smaller society with links previously unimaginable due to the effects of globalization. This has caused an awareness of the financial plight and human rights abuses felt by much of the world population and in turn can be attributed to the change in the nature of conflict from inter-state to intra-state.

While the idea of a UN Police Force does meet the needs for the establishment of law and order, there are other areas that will require much research and debate. Even after the acceptance of this concept by the world’s leaders, there will continue to be the same issues that plague every effort proposed by the United Nations. In addition to those seeking the exceptions from universal implementation, the reality of financing, training, organizational structure, appropriate force size, and demographics will need to be addressed. Each of these areas will require their own research and debate. However, this level of detail will only be necessary if the need for a UN Police Force

is seen as the best way to protect individuals and economic investment thereby allowing growth and development in our ever-changing world.

Notes

¹ William Pfaff, *The Question of Hegemony*, Foreign Affairs v 80 n 1, 230.

² Tom Woodhouse, *Peacekeeping and Peacemaking*, New York, St Martins Press, 1998, 280.

³ Martin Wolf, *Will the Nation-State Survive Globalization?*, Foreign Affairs v 80 n 1, 189.

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